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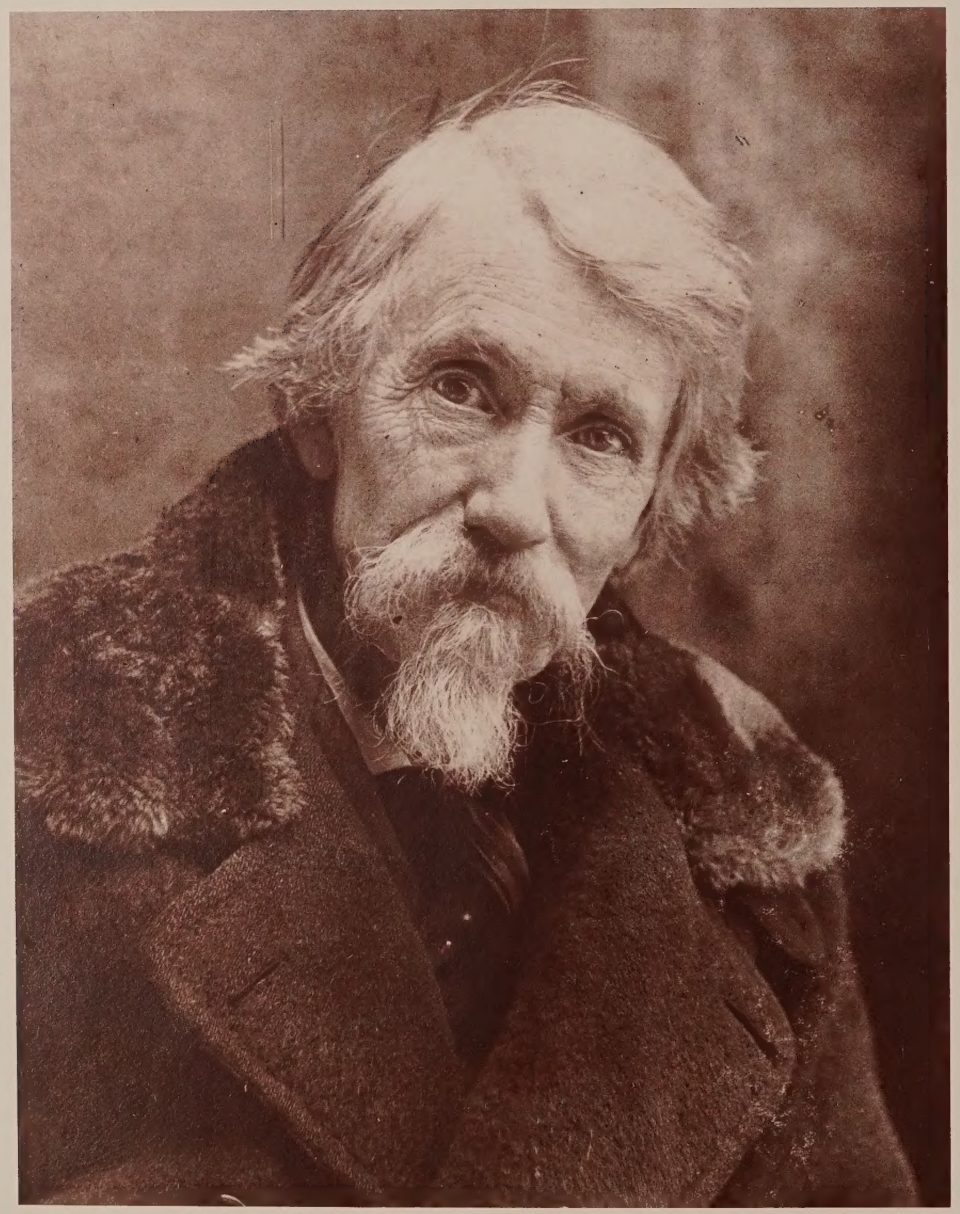

The Photo

GRAPHS OF ALVAN S. HARPER
TALLAHASSEE, 1885-1910

EDITED BY

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Dedication

Dedicated to the Doctors: Doak S. Campbell, Dorothy Dodd, and Allen Morris, but for whom neither the Florida Photographic Archives nor the Harper Collection would exist.

Editors' Acknowledgements

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Special thanks to Will Roy McDaniel of the Florida State University Photo Lab for his assistance in producing from the Harper negatives many of the exhibit-quality prints used in the preparation of this book.

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The Alvan S. Harper Collection

by Joan Perry Morris

Alvan S. Harper was born in Norristown, Pennsylvania, in 1847,[1] but he grew up in Philadelphia, where he moved with his parents in 1849.[2] *Gopsill's Philadelphia Directory* lists his occupation as clerk in 1870 and 1871. He is not listed for the years 1872–1874, but he appears again in 1875 in the entry "Alvan S. Harper & Co. Photographers." In 1878 or 1879, he married Agnes Walmsley, who was seven years his senior[3] and who appears to have worked with Harper in his studio. Little else is known of his life in Philadelphia.

A chance meeting with Judge J. T. Bernard of Tallahassee, who was in Philadelphia as a Commissioner from Florida to the 1876 Centennial Exposition, may have led to the Harpers' move to Tallahassee. Wishing to have a photographic portrait made, Judge Bernard was advised to go to Harper's studio. When he arrived at the studio at 800 Parish Street[4] hot and exhausted from the walk, Agnes Walmsley gave him a cool drink and insisted that he rest. Judge Bernard's great-grandson, Bernard Byrd, recalls that his grandfather was so grateful to Miss Walmsley for her kindness that he gave her a gold-framed miniature (returned to the Byrd family years later, following her death).[5]

The Harpers moved to Tallahassee in October 1884, perhaps after the death of a child. We know that Mrs. Harper had given birth to a child,[6] but none is buried with them in Old City Cemetery. The third person accompanying them when they arrived was one of Mrs. Harper's three sisters. The *Weekly Floridian* reported that they were "domiciled in the dwelling owned by Mr. Levy, on South Monroe Street,"[7] which, according to courthouse records, was on the northwest corner of Gaines and Monroe streets.[8]

Harper opened his first Tallahassee photographic studio in January 1885 at his residence, the Ayer Building on South Monroe Street, and began advertising his services as a portrait artist and photographer. An editorial note in the newspaper observed that Harper was "a first class artist, and propose[d] to do only first class work, on a guarantee of satisfaction to his customers."[9] Harper's business was evidently good, for a year later he bought a house and three lots on the east side of Monroe Street, between Madison and Gaines streets, from George C. Floyd.[10] He also moved his studio to the southwest corner of Monroe Street and Park Avenue.[11] But this move was only temporary, until the building of his own studio near the northeast corner of Monroe and Gaines streets was completed in October 1889. The *Weekly Floridian*'s editor noted that "Mr. A. S. Harper's new art studio, just South of his residence, facing on South Monroe Street is now finished, and it is one of the most complete and perfect ever erected in Tallahassee."[12]

Harper took photographs in this studio for the next twenty-

two years. His advertisements suggest that business may have been slow at times, for bargain rates occasionally were available to groups. In 1900, Tallahasseeans were urged to "Buy a club ticket . . . at T. B. Byrd's store" for Harper's cabinet photos.[13] (Cabinet photos were three-by-five-inch prints mounted on four-by-six-inch cards and usually stored in family albums.) And in 1901, Harper was willing "to exchange photographic work for sweet potatoes and corn."[14]

Harper took on some major photographic and artistic projects, including "large crayon portraits of all the past and present Justices of the Supreme Court."[15] The *True Democrat* reported that "these portraits are drawn from the best photographs obtainable, some of which have been exceedingly hard to find. There have been 33 justices up to the present time, of which Mr. Harper has been able to secure certainly 26, and has hopes of obtaining four more or thirty in all." He evidently completed the portraits of thirty justices,[16] as well as some of Florida's governors.[17]

Harper's photographs appear in turn-of-the century Tallahassee publications, sometimes with credit and sometimes without. The Florida State College Annual staff of 1903 acknowledges him for "making the groups . . . this year . . . from negatives he had in stock, as a donation to the *Argo*. His gift is appreciated and his work has delighted the students and faculty of the school."[18] "A. S. Harper, Photographer" has the copyright for an 1894 promotional booklet containing views of local towns, plantations, lakes, crops, and livestock,[19] but a later publication[20] uses some of the same views without credit, as does the Florida State College *Catalogue* (1900/1901–1903/1904) and *The Lands of Leon* by J. H. Reese (1911).

There are few additional public records of the Harpers' life in

Tallahassee. Agnes Harper died on 26 October 1910, and was buried in the eastern section of Old City Cemetery beside her sisters, Beulah, Elizabeth, and Susan.[21] Early in 1911, Harper

sold his property, with a life lease, to William P. Byrd, grandson of Judge J. T. Bernard.[22] He died soon after, on 26 May 1911.[23]

The Harpers' home became a rental property, and, while the studio was occasionally used by photographers such as Atlanta's Wesley Hirshburg[24] (who made the photographs for the Florida State College for Women's annual *FLASTACOWO*), it is best remembered as a fascinating playground for neighborhood children.[25]

Then in the early 1920s William Byrd sold his home on Calhoun Street to make way for construction of Carolyn Brevard School. He chose the site of Harper's studio for his new home, and the studio was demolished.[26] The glass negatives that had been stored in the studio, and that had survived the years of children playing and other photographers working among them, were claimed by a local history buff. He took them home but, because they were dirty and stuck together, left them on his porch. Mistaken for discards, they were carried away and destroyed.[27]

In March 1946, the State of Florida announced its intention to purchase several blocks in downtown Tallahassee, in an area including Harper's former home, for expansion of the Capitol complex.[28] The Van Brunt family were renting the house, and in preparing to move they discovered boxes of some two thousand glass negatives in the attic. Word of the find spread throughout town. Some of the identified negatives were given to the subjects or their descendents,[29] and photographer David Avant received permission from Bernard Byrd to print a selection of the negatives. He recalls that they were jumbled together in a big box, some in smaller old negative and shoe boxes. About 230 had negative numbers and appeared to be from Philadelphia. Avant spent several months cleaning and printing negatives and then took two to three hundred contact prints of people and scenes to individuals and to Tallahassee Historical Society meetings for identification.[30] In May 1946, the negatives were turned over to

State Archivist Dorothy Dodd[31] and stored by the State Library until the Florida Photographic Archives was established at Florida State University in 1952. At that point, Dodd turned them over to Allen Morris, the founder of the Archives.

In recent years, a few of Harper's photographs have been used in books and exhibits. Time-Life's five-volume series *This Fabulous Century* used three in the 1870–1900 volume, and the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Science and Technology used two when its permanent photographic exhibit was reopened in 1973.

It was not until 1977, however, that Lee Warner, then Assistant Director of the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, suggested that the balance of the Tallahassee negatives be printed and convinced the board to donate one-third of the money needed. Tallahassee photographer Helen Buzyna was employed by the Photographic Archives for six months to contact-print the glass negatives, and most of Harper's portraits were seen for the first time in nearly one hundred years. The negatives were put into acid-free envelopes and numbered with references to other negatives of the same sitting or person. Identifications were sought from older Tallahasseeans, seldom with success. The 1,600-plus contact prints, numbered to correspond to the negatives, sat in boxes on a desk in the Photographic Archives, and only a rare visitor could resist looking through them. Georgia's nationally recognized photographer Paul Kwilecki learned of the collection and made exhibit-quality prints from a selection of negatives. *Florida,* the Sunday supplement of the Orlando *Sentinel Star,* featured Harper and his photographs on 6 April 1980. *Wings,* the in-flight magazine for Air Florida, published a story about the Harper negatives by Frank Stephenson, along with sixteen photographs, in its September 1980 issue. Subsequently, the Florida State University Press decided to publish this book, with cosponsorship by the State of Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management.

Consistent with contemporary practice in books of archival photographs, the images in this volume have been grouped in various categories, with the groupings separated by blank pages. The photographs have not been cropped, and in most cases the reproductions are close to the size of the original glass negatives. Imperfections caused by cracks or by the flaking of emulsion from the glass base have been left unretouched, as is also customary in reproductions of archival photographs. While the images show us what Harper saw, the imperfections reflect the hazards the negatives have come through.

One wonders how these negatives survived, especially the more than two hundred that made the trip from Philadelphia, but those that have been lost prompt perhaps more speculation. In many cases the Photographic Archives contains several negatives of the same person on the same day, yet the Harper photographs of these subjects in private collections often show still a different pose. Perhaps the negatives in the Archives were the unchosen poses, unlikely to be printed and thus stored somewhere out of the way. If so, how ironic it is that, save for the prints in family collections, the rejects survived while the selected poses were lost.

Yet, however these negatives were judged when taken, they constitute a significant historical record. Few Florida cities have glass negative collections of comparable age, quality, and quantity—at least at present. Perhaps the Harper collection's accidental discovery is not an unrepeatable phenomenon: who knows what tomorrow's attics may yield?

NOTES

1. U.S. Census, 1900.
2. Tallahassee *Weekly True Democrat,* 26 May 1911.
3. U.S. Census, 1900.
4. *Gopsill's Philadelphia Directory,* 1875.
5. Conversation with Bernard Byrd, 16 May 1980.
6. U.S. Census, 1900.
7. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* 21 October 1884.
8. *Leon County Deed Book,* Z48.
9. *Weekly Floridian,* 6 January 1885.
10. *Leon County Deed Book,* AA197.
11. *Weekly Floridian,* 30 December 1885.
12. Ibid., 15 October 1889.
13. Ibid., 26 July 1900.
14. Ibid., 21 October 1901.
15. *True Democrat,* 12 May 1905.
16. Portraits of the three missing justices were finally painted in 1979–80 by Clarabelle Jett, a Tallahassee artist of predominantly historic Florida subjects.
17. Signed portraits of governors Bloxham, Brown, and Mitchell are in the Photographic Archives.
18. *Weekly Tallahasseean,* 20 March 1903.
19. Richard C. Long, *Features of the Hill Country, Florida* (New York: Moss Engineering Co., 1894).
20. E. Warren Clark, *Florida Hill Country* (Rockford, Ill.: Horner Printing Co., 1898).
21. Floreda D. Varrick and Phyllis R. Smith, *Tallahassee and Leon County, Florida Cemeteries* (Tallahassee, 1978), p. 40.
22. *Leon County Deed Book,* QQ267.
23. Varrick and Smith, *Cemeteries.*
24. *Wilsen's Tallahassee Directory,* 1911.
25. Conversation with Thomas B. Van Brunt, 16 May 1980.
26. Conversation with Bernard Byrd, 30 September 1980.
27. Conversation with Bernard Byrd, 6 May 1980.
28. *Daily Democrat,* 13 March 1946.
29. Conversation with Mrs. Robert Sansabaugh, 6 May 1980.
30. Conversation with David Avant, 21 May 1980.
31. *Daily Democrat,* 1 May 1946.

The Photographs of Alvan S. Harper

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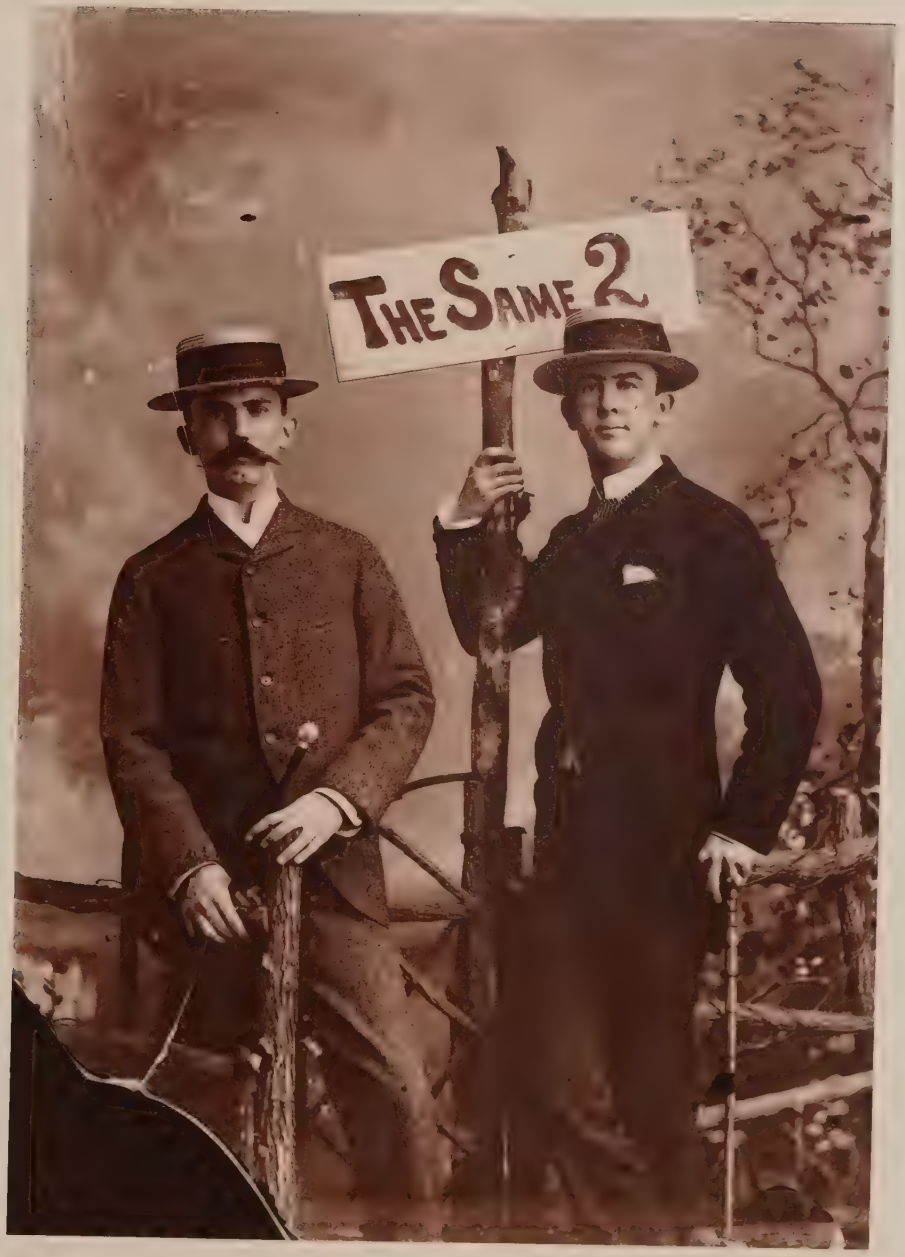

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Alvan Harper's Tallahassee

by Lee H. Warner

The Tallahassee that Alvan Harper photographed seems, in many ways, very familiar to the contemporary observer. Fifty years after Harper's death, author Gloria Jahoda described a scene that he would have recognized: "everywhere that July there were the pines, their long needles shimmering in a faint wind under the hot subtropical sun." Outside the towns "were empty dirt roads, rutted by mule carts," and in the towns "rows of unpainted shacks without windows" where "ancient Negro women sat fanning themselves with palm leaves" on "rickety porches." From tall magnolias, "locusts whined . . . with the steady pitch of power saws," and under "moss-draped oaks, and lacy chinaberry trees" slept "scrawny dogs, the flies buzzing at their noses." To Jahoda, who had recently moved to the area from Chicago, the scene "looked like the South of novelists and poets, heavy with antiquity, romance and misery."[1]

The conclusion may be exaggerated, but Jahoda, as a traveler from the North, understood clearly the striking elements of times past in the Tallahassee of 1963. Those elements, still present, may not survive indefinitely. The rapidly increasing population and the jarring social changes of the last generation suggest that the tie to the past is already tenuous. But today the world of Alvan Harper's photographs still bears strong relationship to Tallahassee and other areas that share its climate and history.

And yet there is, naturally, an opaque and inescapably alien quality in these photographs of people and dwellings and landscapes muted by time and faded from living memory. Even when we know the identity of one of Harper's subjects, the individual, and the individual's sense of the conditions of his or her life, remain mysterious to us. The distance from which we view Harper's photographs may be a distance only of time, but it is a sufficiently long time to have changed the place itself and most of the conditions of its life. Readers may therefore feel some need for an orientation to the world preserved—partially and enigmatically—in these photographs, a brief characterization of the city's past and its sense of itself in the years 1885–1910.

Tallahassee was founded late. In many ways the town was never more than an afterthought or postscript to the frontier society. When the Americans took possession of Spanish Florida in 1819, Tallahassee did not exist. It came into being in 1824, midway between the two Spanish capitals of St. Augustine and Pensacola, only because neither town would consent to see the other named the United States territorial capital. The town grew slowly, one might say reluctantly. By the time of the Civil War, it numbered only 1,600 citizens; forty years later the population was 3,000. The railroad arrived belatedly in 1860 and was only an east-west line. Gas lights finally appeared in 1888 and electricity in 1902.

The town was distinctly prosperous—and proud—in the years before the Civil War. "King Cotton's Florida Province," one analyst called it, and the society that ran the town would have looked familiar to those who knew the plantation economy and society of the Carolinas and Virginia.[2] But the war changed all that. Even though Tallahassee escaped the armies and the battles, it felt the effects of the conflict. The cotton market disappeared and farmers were urged to plant corn instead. Trade stopped; travel and communication slowed to a standstill. One of the town's newspapers ceased publication in 1863 because there was no paper on which to print it.[3]

The fifteen years after the war were difficult. Credit was unavailable; capital was nonexistent. Paul Gaston described the period well when he explained that "the South in the generation after Appomattox was desperately poor, alternately despised, ridiculed or pitied, and saddled with many unwelcome burdens."[4] Not the least of these burdens was a widespread and deep-seated malaise that stubbornly held the population's spirit, made worse by the presence of federal occupation troops. But by the early eighties a change had begun, one that occurred all over the South at about the same time. In Tallahassee the construction of a new courthouse in 1882 marked, in a sense, the beginning of this change.

When the old courthouse burned in 1879, residents were not quick to rebuild it. With a reluctance and pessimism that had characterized the fifteen years following the war, skeptical citizens voted 279 to 15 not to sell bonds to finance a new structure. The next month, however, that decision was at least partially reversed when the county commission levied a special two-mill, two-year assessment to get the job done.[5]

After that more positive action, the change in attitude became noticeable. Despite the usual kinds of disputes and problems during construction, the finished structure gave people something large and new to see—and to be proud of. Soon the building's yard was fenced and terraced, and stairs were put into the new tower so visitors might "ascend to the top and enjoy a fine view."[6]

Harper's stereo of the building (PLATE 65) captures some of its grandeur. Located in the center of one of the town's previously vacant public squares, the courthouse was a white Italianate structure that provided striking contrast to the plain, two-story business houses to its north and the increasingly dilapidated Capitol immediately to the southwest.

A second new public building followed shortly. In 1888 the county decided to build a new jail and let the contract for $10,117 to the Van Dorn Iron Works of Cleveland, Ohio. The project seems to have gone extremely smoothly, finishing within the five months allotted for it and within the budget. By the end of the year, in fact, the old jail was being demolished.[7]

Harper recorded the building project before it was completed. Although his work is undated, the photograph (PLATE 67) suggests September or October 1888. The masonry has been completed and the roof sheathing applied, but the building lacks shingles and windows and the scaffolding is still in place.

The construction of the two public buildings coincided with the beginning of a period of sweeping change in Tallahassee. By mid-decade the local paper could remark that the city was in the midst of "quite a building boom," which included not only buildings "well underway" but several just under contract and others still in planning. The spurt continued into the 1890s, slowed for a time, and then accelerated in the first decade of the new century.[8] And physical changes were not limited to new

construction: notices of renovation and repair were widespread.

In one typical example, the local newspaper editor noted that the "residence of Hon. Fred T. Myers is being repainted and will soon be a greater ornament to Monroe Street than ever."[9] As was evidently his habit, Harper seems to have recorded the change. At least his photograph (PLATE 82) shows Myers's house freshly repainted. Myers was a member of the state senate and its president in 1895. His house stood just across the street from the state Capitol, also newly refurbished. The photograph is important for its recording of a representative white, mid- to upper-class family dwelling.[10] Architecturally hybrid, the structure reflects influences of both Queen Anne and Stick Style. Although that mix may suggest a certain lack of awareness of current taste in the cultural capitals of the country, the house was, as the editor put it, ornamental in isolated Tallahassee.

Just as interesting are the wooden fence and the trees in the street. Such a fence was repeated around almost every dwelling in town and served several purposes. It kept wandering livestock outside of the yard, and its bottom board undoubtedly protected the yard from the street's mud and dirt, especially during the sudden, heavy rains of the wet season. Iron or masonry fences and walls were almost unknown in Tallahassee, for iron and stone were not produced in the area and local brick was not of the best quality. But wood was available and cheap. The forests abounded not only with the live oak used in shipbuilding but with virgin southern heart pine. The latter was naturally resistant to decay and insects, easily worked, and very strong. And its abundance kept it cheap. As a result, it became the preferred building material in the area.

The fenced trees are indicative of a long-time concern in Tallahassee. Even prior to the Civil War residents had attempted to protect trees in the town (still a fervent concern today). The two enclosed young live oaks to the north of Fred Myers's house indicate similar sentiments in 1891.[11]

The building and refurbishing about which the newspaper editor boasted were evidence of the new belief in Tallahassee, as in the rest of the South, that the defeat of the war years and the challenges of Reconstruction had been overcome. Southerners believed they were ready to enter the mainstream of their country's history, a sentiment paralleled in the attitude of Northerners who also wanted to forget the past in an era of heightened nationalism. This change in attitude was fundamental to the concept of the New South.

Tallahasseeans sought their new world in many ways. Some were clearly extreme: The *Floridian*'s editor, for example, exhorted his readers in one issue to "plant an experimental crop of opium poppy" as a cash crop and later chronicled the attempt of one resident to do just that. The heightened enthusiasm over W. A. Rawls's new soda fountain was another unusual expression. It was, the observer declared, the "handsomest soda fountain in middle Florida." The description noted the "face of Genoa Marble, the sides of Belgian Marble, with gold tracery and silver escutcheon, and the superstructure of Bardiblio Marble." With its brass syrup tanks and steel cylinders to hold the beverages, the fountain was, in short, a place "to which it would be a pleasure to take . . . friends and a satisfaction to send your children."[12]

The extravagance of this prose is representative of the sometimes misplaced optimism of the period. An event two weeks later underscored the point. Although Tallahassee had an exotic new soda fountain, it had no fire department. When the building just across the street caught fire, it was only the "freshly

charged soda fountains" that extinguished the blaze.[13] This incident emblemizes the Tallahassee of the 1890s—a small capital of an underpopulated state, with a recent history of struggling through Reconstruction, now dreaming naively of a cosmopolitan future.

The closest the dream came to reality in that era was the Leon Hotel. The magnificent Leon: nothing, before or since, has ever rivaled its significance for Tallahassee. Harper's photograph (Plate 72) is of the second Leon. Tallahasseeans realized the need for a new, first-class hotel if their dreams of greatness were ever to be realized. To get their hotel, they donated the site of the old courthouse to a building company on condition that the hotel be built there. Construction proceeded quickly, but in 1885 the hotel burned. The second Leon followed rapidly on the same site.

The date of the photograph seems to be May 1888, just two years after the building was completed. To the west (the left of the photograph) is the steeple of the First Presbyterian Church, with the town clock. To the north (the right of the photograph) is the soon-to-be-demolished old jail. The activity in the foreground seems to involve the installation of gas pipes in the city. (Water would come two years later.)

The advent of gas lighting was a long-awaited event. Beginning in May the pipes were installed and construction started on the gas house. By mid-December the newspaper impatiently announced that the new lights would be "turned on in a day or two; by Thursday for sure." On Christmas day, the editor, his expectations finally justified, pointed out the one unfavorable aspect of this city improvement: "the stores lighted by kerosene look dark and gloomy in comparison with the gas-lighted ones, but it will be only a short while before the whole city is brilliantly lighted."[14]

The Leon was brilliant by itself. There were two other hotels in town—the Bloxham, which served, primarily, commercial travelers, and the old City Hotel, remarked upon by Sidney Lanier as old-fashioned in the early seventies. The Leon was new and crisp: Harper's interior view (Plate 70) indicates its modern and fashionable qualities. Before such amenities were available in the rest of the town, the Leon offered gas lighting and running water. It is likely that, when the Legislature came to town, at least as much state business was conducted under the Leon's roof as in the Capitol. And for the out-of-town visitor who wanted to stay at the "best" hotel, only the Leon would suffice.[15]

Harper evidently often used the east steps of the Leon for photographs. The one reproduced here (Plate 52) shows a well-dressed group. The manager, Mr. Oglesby, is the mustached but beardless gentleman just at the top, to the right of the woman in the center.

Tallahassee's hopes for greatness rested on its position as the capital. That designation had founded the city and, despite occasional threats to move the capital to another city, had served to ensure its existence. When Alvan Harper came to Tallahassee, all of state government was housed in a single building (as it was until 1913). That structure, completed in 1845, was small, three floors 150 feet by 50 feet. The number of government representatives and workers occupying the Capitol was correspondingly small. But the building, and its occupants, had witnessed secession, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the disputed election of 1876, and still gave direction to all parts of the state.

Harper usually photographed each Legislature, either in a group or by a composite method. His views of the House and Senate in 1889 (PLATES 50 & 51) are more suggestive of the reality of Florida's capital than most. The overwhelming impression, despite the startling and increasingly rapid changes that the town and state were undergoing, is one of backwardness and underdevelopment.

The Capitol, by that time, had become too small for Florida's growing government. (A total overhaul came two years later and substantial enlargement in 1902.) The gentle diagonal line between the first and second floor (PLATE 50) is a rainwater leader. Until 1891 the Capitol got its water from cisterns located south of the porticos and, of course, from outdoor wells. The photograph also shows that the walkways were unpaved. In fact, Tallahassee was almost a quarter of a century from having its first paved street (brick), and by the mid-nineties there were only a few paved sidewalks.[16]

It is impossible to account for the presence of the woman and the girl in the front row of the Senate group (there were no female members until well into the next century). Nor is it known why Senators favored hats and Representatives spurned them. But each house chose to identify its presiding officer with a gavel, and members adopted a flint-faced appearance to underscore the seriousness of the occasion.

Sometime after 1891, probably around 1900, Harper again photographed the building (PLATE 63). By that time it had been refurbished and repainted; red-and-white-striped awnings and an out-of-proportion cupola had been added. (The cupola was regarded as a joke in its own day and has remained one long past its eleven-year existence.) A familiar Tallahassee fence and fenced trees are present. The memorial just to the left of the center was dedicated to the state's Confederate experiences.

The turn of the new century brought with it a serious threat to Tallahassee's status as capital. As Florida's new inhabitants began to spread southward on the peninsula, Tallahassee was no longer so centrally located. As a result, there was a concerted effort that year to move the capital closer to the population centers. Tallahasseeans and their near neighbors rose to defeat that move, and the next year the Legislature responded by authorizing a significant enlargement of the sixty-year-old building (choosing, by the way, an out-of-state architect and construction company for the project).

As Harper's photograph shows (PLATE 64), the expanded Capitol was drastically changed. Gone was the tiny cupola; in its place stood a fashionable Beaux Arts dome. New wings to the south and north provided much-needed room, and the enhanced porticos on the east and west lent a stylish dignity to the building. Harper's view was probably taken just as the expansion was completed, in December 1902 or January 1903. (Bare trees and the absence of foundation planting suggest this.) Interestingly, there are both electric and gas exterior lamps, but no electric wires are attached to the structure.

Not until 20 February 1903 was electricity available in the city. Even then, however, the "mysterious current" was available only for the evening hours, and it was not reliable. Any purchaser of the new service had to retain an alternate source of light, usually gas. As a result, in many structures and on the streets there were either two sets of fixtures—as in Harper's Capitol view—or single fixtures that contained both gas and electrical outlets. It would not be until 1 May 1909 that twenty-

four-hour continuous service became available in Tallahassee.[17]

The new public buildings and the Leon were the largest and most striking physical examples of change within Tallahassee. But they were not out of place in the town, for they had grown organically from its history, the impact of the New South, and the consciousness of its citizens. Those factors were also reflected in surrounding Tallahassee.

St. John's Episcopal Church, one of four downtown churches, was the respectable, upper-class place of worship. Harper's photograph (PLATE 66) shows the Gothic Revival building as it appeared shortly after the turn of the century. The congregation had been founded in 1829, and the first structure (wooden) had burned in 1879. Its successor was completed, after considerable problems in construction, during the eighties. Ivy covered, with its Carter Chapel on the right and a proud century plant in springtime bloom in the garden, it gave daily testimony to God's blessing in Tallahassee.[18]

Diagonally across the street was another institution whose importance rivaled St. John's. That was the "famous millinery and notions store of Miss Eliza Stephenson." It was a favorite gathering place for upper-class women of Tallahassee and had its special seasons as well. "It is said that during Lent the ladies adjourned from [St. John's] service to visit Miss Eliza's to shop for Easter bonnets or to chat."[19]

Fortunately, a number of Harper's photographs of houses and domestic situations survive. While Fred Myers's house (PLATE 82) was a common type of dwelling at the time, more modest houses, such as that shown in PLATE 78, were in greater abundance. With three or four rooms distributed on one floor, such structures customarily had porches and were surrounded by trees. All were heated by open fires. In this photograph the kitchen can be seen to the rear. (By this time kitchens were being constructed fairly close to the main dwelling and, in some cases, were attached to it, either directly or by a porch.) Here, too, the ubiquitous Tallahassee fence provides a border.

Harper's view of "the Columns" is another example (PLATE 73). Built as a banking house in Tallahassee's first decade, the brick structure was one of the few downtown survivors of the disastrous fire of 1843. The photograph is difficult to date. The oil street lamp suggests a point prior to 1888, when gas became available, but lamps like this one remained in use much after that time. By the turn of the century, the Columns was being run as boarding house; it was later returned to use as a private residence by the Felkel family. For most Tallahasseeans of the time, the structure was something of a landmark, and it seems to have been in that spirit that the photographer recorded it.[20]

A similar scene is the photograph of the Dismukes residence, still standing on King Street in Quincy, Florida, county seat of Gadsden County (Leon's immediate neighbor to the west). Harper recorded both the front and the rear of this residence, offering later viewers insight into the public and the more private worlds of family life of the time.

The front view (PLATE 76) is formal: a well-dressed family group posed on the stairs of the Greek Revival house emblemizes a structured, symmetrical, well-ordered world. Though nonetheless stylized and formal in its own way, the view from the back of the house (PLATE 77) reveals more of the family's day-to-day life. The detached kitchen has been connected to the house. Other outbuildings indicate the material requirements of the family. Black servants provided not only cheap labor but also a crucial link to the pre-War past.

The photograph of North Monroe Street (PLATE 81), probably

at the corner of Virginia, is as close to a cliché as any of Harper's surviving views. Probably taken shortly after 1903, it reveals an older Greek Revival house, neat and well-maintained. To the side stands a small barn, common in that day; in the distance, additional homes of the same vintage compose the neighborhood. Two dogs rest in the shade on this spring afternoon, out of the line of approaching traffic. It would have been a familiar scene and, in any town the size of Tallahassee throughout the South, one satisfying to its comfortable citizens.

The steel rails in the photograph belonged to Tallahassee's street railway, surely a unique phenomenon. It is difficult, at this distance, to understand the need for public transportation in this small, sleepy southern town. Distances were short and the pace of life was slow. Perhaps this is why the street railroad did not last long (six to ten years, depending on whom you believe) and appears never to have been overcrowded. The track ran from the railroad station at one end of town, up the hill to the Capitol and business district in the center of Tallahassee, and then into the residential district at the northern edge of the community. The overall distance was only two miles and was accomplished at a leisurely mule pace, no faster than a comfortable walk.

The car's schedule was simple: only one timed stop per day. Shortly after noon it met the east-bound and west-bound trains at the depot. Beyond that, it simply made the circuit to the northern edge of town and returned to the depot, where there was a pause to rest the mules. There were no other regular stops. Indeed, the car stopped whenever passengers wanted to get off. It was said that on slow days the conductor—a black man who was referred to as Cap (his real name was Alexander) and who wore a GAR button on his coat—would even wait long enough for women to do their shopping.[21]

In fact, there was no need for the street railway. (The Leon Hotel even ran its own omnibus to the depot.) But it probably fulfilled a certain psychological need. Larger and more important cities had their street railways, and Tallahassee's version may have given residents of Florida's capital city a sense of the city's importance. Beyond that, the street railway was merely a comfortable and familiar anachronism. Certainly there was no great outcry when it went out of existence, nor any replacement.

In a way, the quiet demise of the street railway expressed the essentially unchanging character of the town. It was almost as if Tallahassee had no need for that element of the new age, the "New South" to the contrary. All the New South meant for Tallahassee was increased prosperity with, as nearly as possible, a return to the old ways. As Paul Gaston put it, referring to the whole South, "one of the ironies of Southern history lies in the simultaneous rise during the 1880s of both the New South creed and the mythic image of the old South!"[22] Tallahasseeans, like their compatriots, firmly held on to their consciousness of the past while grasping for the future.

There were parts of the past, obviously, that even north Floridians could not recapture. Most notable among these was the reign of King Cotton. The town was located squarely in the middle of Florida's black belt, but despite the desires of Tallahasseeans to the contrary, the boll weevil, market conditions, social and economic habits, and the end of slavery made it clear that the dominance of the pre-War agricultural economy could not be revived.

Instead the gospel message became one of economic diversification and, especially in Leon County, agricultural diversification. In *From Cotton to Quail,* Clifton Paisley has thoughtfully and effectively told the story of attempts to turn the local econ-

omy from cotton production to other ends, and there is no need here to repeat his work. Alvan Harper's surviving photographs offer graphic evidence of that movement, which led in several directions: dairy and stock farming; sugar cane, pears, and nuts; grapes and tobacco; and truck farming.[23]

The stereo views (PLATES 85 & 86) of the sugar cane harvest record one aspect of the attempt. They show the harvest in progress and the press at work, squeezing the juice out of the stalks. In the distance, and also in the second view, stands the shed with its fireplace and implements for boiling the raw juice into syrup.

Harper also captured the attempt at pear growing (PLATE 84). With an enthusiasm that was heartening to local observers, many in the county tried their hands at the LeConte pears. The venture initially seemed successful beyond anyone's hopes. But those hopes were rapidly dashed when an unexpected blight wiped out the investment.

A more imaginative north Florida venture was grape-growing for the purpose of wine-making. In Tallahassee, one Emile Dubois located his vineyard on the site of the old San Luis Mission, in the vicinity of the modern subdivision of the same name. By 1890 the cultivation was well established and marketed under the brand names "San Luis" and "Andalusia." Harper recorded the vineyards (PLATE 88) in a prosperous-looking moment, evidently at a point close to harvest. (The gun seems designed for scaring away birds.) The business, which evidently had no local competition, lasted until just after the turn of the century.

Two events seem to have destroyed it. In 1904, after a vigorous but politely fought campaign, the county voted itself dry. Almost overnight all the local saloons closed down, and Dubois found himself without a local market. (Oral tradition has it that the dry vote also killed the cigar-making industry in Tallahassee because the workers would not work in a dry community.) Dubois also suffered a personal tragedy when his son hanged himself at home. The combination defeated Dubois and the vineyards, and thus one more attempt at agricultural diversification failed.

Of all the attempts to succeed at a new crop, only nut-growing provided substantial relief. But that industry did not reach its peak until the second decade of the new century and is missing from Harper's surviving work.

Likewise scarce in the extant collection is evidence of the attempt to find some kind of compatible industrial economy for the town. "We want enterprise" the local editor announced, and he bewailed the available "abundance of *idle* capital." As he analyzed the situation, this capital could be used to "change the city and surrounding country from its present quiet, sleepy appearance into a bustling, progressive industrial region."[24]

Such calls for action were a familiar element of the revived energy and confidence of leaders who preached the New South gospel. They recognized that cotton was forever dead, saw the farmers deserting, and understood the inherent uncertainty of agricultural diversification. Instead, they saw the region's salvation in white immigrants and new pursuits.[25]

In Tallahassee, the call for industry bore little fruit. The only substantial industrial plant ever to locate in the area was the shop facility of the Florida Central and Peninsular Railway, and it was forever threatening to leave for a more efficient and prosperous location. Harper's railroad photographs do not show the shops, which were located just to the northwest of the present station. But in capturing at least part of the area's engine of industrialism, they do seem to reflect an attitude of pride and

happiness. One is apparently an inspection party in town (PLATE 91); the other—(PLATE 93) with two small boys included—is simply a celebration of machinery.[26]

There were other local efforts. The steamboat *Walkatomica* (PLATE 90) was a related enterprise. Built in the local railroad yards by Tallahassee entrepreneur and engineer William Slusser, it figured in an expedition to awaken interest in the Gulf Coast area south of Tallahassee. But no other steamboats were built, and neither was the coastal area developed.[27] Census records reveal other small plants—gristmills, smithies, shoemakers, tailors, and cigar-makers. But wood was the only area resource really valuable to industry. Harper photographed one sawmill (PLATE 89) with evidence of substantial operation; a modern bridge stands in the foreground. But the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was to be an age of iron and steel, not wood. Thus the lumber industry, which remained important to the area, did not bring with it the prestige or excitement for which the local editor had called.

The failure of the early twentieth-century generation to attract industry had important long-range effects. Ultimately the failure aided in the preservation of the city's beauty and character. And from the vantage point of a century later, when so many urban areas must now devise means to control the pollution and blight caused by industrialization, it is clear that the failure was, in fact, precisely not a failure. Tallahasseeans of that day, however, considered it to be one, and their feelings simply added another layer to the southern mindset of defeat and inferiority.

At that time the most important immediate consequence of the failure to attract industry was the preservation of the town's size and character. There was no influx of outsiders to challenge the ideas and reality of Tallahasseeans or to change the physical character of their town.

As a result, Tallahassee was known, even within the area, as a particularly conservative place. There are reliable witnesses to such attitudes. Maurice Thompson, the novelist, chose the town as the setting for his 1881 work *The Tallahassee Girl.* He spent some time in the city and in his opinion the inhabitants were "the genuine unadulterated remnant of the antebellum South," with qualities of "conservatism . . . scrupulousness . . . [and a preference for] seclusion." He claimed that Tallahasseeans felt there should be "no admittance" to their society "without the password."[28]

Thompson, it is true, wrote fiction. But the sentiments he expressed were seconded by the findings of modern historian Alan Downes, who, conducting research a generation ago, could talk with people who lived during Thompson's era. Downes was able to capture the attitudes and, in many ways, the essence of Tallahassee during Alvan Harper's life there. Social lines, Downes points out, were strictly drawn. In direct, colloquial language, at least some Tallahasseeans referred to the white social cosmos as containing three classes of people: "golddusters, hominy huskers, and depot greasers." The hominy huskers were the agricultural poor. Depot greasers were those who worked at or lived near the railroad shops. The term golddusters defined the town's upper and middle class and even carried over to the town's best residential street, Calhoun, which was referred to as "Gold Dust Street."[29]

Although those terms obviously oversimplified the situation; they also characterized a society which tended to divide along distinct lines. Tallahassee had a recognizable elite, Downes concluded, which numbered about fifty white families. To be termed

elite they had to meet three criteria: "residence in the area with reasonable wealth before the Civil War; reasonable wealth in the late nineteenth century; and traditionally genteel behavior and reverence for tradition."[30]

The impression that emerges from all the evidence is consistent. Tallahassee wanted to hold on to the old order. Small and isolated, it was—despite its renewed confidence and search for economic sufficiency—devoted to the preservation of its connection with the past.

For the most part Alvan Harper's photographs support that general impression. There is one important qualification: the overwhelming bulk of Harper's work did not survive. Sixteen hundred negatives from a twenty-year career is a pitifully small remnant. It is possible that the surviving photographs do not accurately represent the world Harper photographed, that the subjects of his photographs were not typical or representative of Tallahassee. If, however, one is not constrained to disallow the photographs' value because of their few subjects, one can find in them compelling testimony supporting other documentary evidence.

The people of Tallahassee were Harper's primary subjects. It goes almost unsaid that portraits were taken—and survived—in direct proportion to the amount of money their subjects had. These were the people who wanted likenesses of themselves or their loved ones, and who could afford to pay for them.

Portraits at the time were highly stylized. In an age accustomed to candid, informal photography, so much of Harper's work looks artificial: the set (belonging to the photographer), the pose (the photographer's), the quality of the work (the photographer's), and the clothes (which could just as easily be acquired for this single purpose rather than being customary). Only the postures and the facial expressions, though sometimes ambiguous, offer insight into the subjects' backgrounds and status.

Group portraits can be particularly revealing, and the two photographs of the Kentucky Club at Meridian Plantation are good examples. The poses are stiff and artificial, yet they indicate a good deal of self-assurance. The top hat balanced on the walking stick, the parasol conspicuously in view, the studied look of Miss Jennie Wilson (in the derby) as she leans on the fallen tree (PLATE 49)—all point to an elite class proud of its status and seeking a means to demonstrate it.

Kate Kemper and Mr. Shrader (PLATE 31), and several other couples whose photographs are not reproduced here, express similar attitudes in their costumes for the Mikado Party. One had to have the leisure and the means, first of all, even to know of the Gilbert and Sullivan popular operetta. The same leisure and means were necessary to afford costumes, and, finally, one would not have been invited to participate unless he or she were a "goldduster."

Perhaps the most widely reproduced Harper photograph is the one of eight cyclists (PLATE 95). The young man seated in the center was a frequent subject of Harper's; there are more extant photographs of Laurie Perkins in the collection than of any other individual. Captain Louis Strumm, seated to Perkins's right, was another favorite subject. Here was a group of Tallahassee's young upper-class males engaging, like the Mikado couples and the Kentucky club, in a popular and fashionable activity. Their portrait was proof of their social credentials.

Portraits of upper-class children suggest the same purposes. Consider, for example, the photograph of young Francis B. Winthrop (PLATE 20).[31] Descended from the wealthy Mas-

sachusetts Winthrops who had moved south to establish themselves, this well-dressed young man gives clear notice of his future. The image tells us that he is already aimed at upper-class leisure activities. The photo of Willie Perkins mounted on his pony (PLATE 98) makes a similar point. His home appears in the rear left of the photograph, with the home of Governor Walker on the right. From a newspaper description of Walker's home (termed an "elegant residence") we know that it was on North Monroe Street, a new and fashionable neighborhood. Like the other upper-class children pictured, Willie Perkins's clothing and props define him as representative of golddust society.[32]

A striking contrast to the upper-class children is preserved in the photograph of the four youngsters with the express wagon and the watermelon (PLATE 61). Given the prevailing attitudes toward photographic portraiture, it is unlikely that middle- or upper-class parents would knowingly have permitted their children to be so recorded. Studio portraits, moreover, were not cheap, and it seems unlikely that parents of modest means could have afforded such a sitting—even if they had wanted their children captured in such clothes and attitudes. It seems clear, in other words, that Harper must have photographed the group simply for the sake of recording it. The best guess is that it was a group of the urban poor, children of parents that Downes would have classified as "depot greasers."

Interestingly, Harper's portrait gallery also includes images of working-class Tallahasseeans who did not quite fit into Downes's three neat classifications. The series of images of men in work clothes with the tools of their trade opens up for us a wider spectrum of the individuals who lived in Tallahassee and suggests some of their own perceptions of themselves. The most straightforward of these portraits is of the carpenter (PLATE 2). The young man is posed in the dress of his trade, and his easy familiarity with his tools shows clearly. More elegant is the portrait of the surveyor Overton Bernard (PLATE 1). He was from one of Downes's fifty families, and his expression is consistent with that heritage. The fireman (PLATE 6) is the most artificial of the lot. Perhaps he would have been more comfortable with hoses and ladders in his hands rather than the less glamorous broom. The photograph of the waiter or bar man (PLATE 3), which Harper identified as "Hawkins Ball's Bar," is more interesting and appealing. With his "tools" at his elbow and a cigar in hand, Mr. Hawkins, mustache and all, comes through time easily.

The Harper collection is particularly valuable in enhancing our understanding of the situation of blacks in late-nineteenth-century deep-South society. The elderly black woman in front of her cabin (PLATE 83) stands in particular contrast to Harper's photographs of upper- and middle-class white homes and neighborhoods. The cabin itself stands out: it is ancient. The gaps between the logs are covered with scrap lumber. There are no windows. The chimney is not brick. The roof appears to be patched. The cabin is, in other words, probably a remnant from the days of slavery.[33]

The contrast may seem too stark. There were better habitations for middle-Florida blacks. But it also appears that such cabins were common. It is worth noting, as well, that the omnipresent Tallahassee fence is missing from this picture and from many other photographs of blacks' dwellings. Bluntly, that omission suggests that blacks in Tallahassee were indeed outside of Tallahassee society. The elderly, barefoot woman without a porch or chair certainly conveys that impression.

Yet in the decade immediately after the Civil War black

people were not so totally excluded from white society. The North was determined, for the moment at least, that the great social experiment of racial equality should be enforced in the South. And because the Union Army troops and Republican government remained in Tallahassee well into the 1870s, black participation in significant parts of the social and political structure lasted longer. This is not to suggest that black poverty was magically abolished, nor that blacks were granted equal access to all parts of the social structure. Clearly they were not. But some things had changed.

There were black members of the Legislature. There were blacks in local government. Blacks had a friend in the Tallahassee *Sentinel,* the town's other newspaper. They broke away from subservient positions in the Episcopal and Methodist churches and founded their own congregations. They served on the police force.

But once the army and the Republicans were gone, this social integration began to change. Shifting the racial balance took thirty to forty years and was part of that vaster change known as the coming of the New South.

The written evidence places Harper's photographs in perspective. In the late eighties in Tallahassee, the racial situation was still ambiguous. Material progress for black people was approvingly noted. The "colored people," wrote the *Weekly Floridian's* editor, were going to have their own roller skating rink. And the town's major contractor (white) was building the "Colored Episcopal Church," which was to be "after the general style of St. John's Episcopal Church, with stained glass windows." In 1888 the Boulevard Hotel opened, with the paper pointing out that it was the "first hotel built in Tallahassee for colored persons." The editor trusted they would give it "a liberal patronage."[34] Yet in March 1890 the paper proclaimed that "for the first time in many years Tallahassee has all white policemen" and smugly editorialized that a "black cloud" had been lifted from the town. Three months later the town ordered new police uniforms—"handsome *Confederate* gray."[35]

But the same year the announcement came that there would be a "Colored Chatauqua" in much the same manner that a white Chatauqua would have been proclaimed. When the cornerstone of the "colored M. E. Church" was laid, the reaction was positive, but when the Good Templars (black) laid their cornerstone the same year, the editor felt compelled to observe that it was "the most orderly procession of colored people ever seen in Florida."[36]

After the early nineties, racism was further institutionalized. Early in 1892 the proprietor of the St. James Hotel (formerly the Bloxham House) announced that he was going to "do away with the unreliable colored waiters" (by which he meant all blacks and not merely some of them) and to "engage white waitresses for the winter season." Soon there were proud proclamations of the "only white barber shop in the city" and a new "soda fountain for whites only." The next year the proprietor was still explaining that there was "no necessity for you to drink at a fountain where colored and white are served together." Shortly before the end of that year the town's first "exclusively white saloon" opened. In July 1903 there was a "little incident" that incensed the editor when a black woman would not give way to a white on a sidewalk.[37]

With the new century, in other words, segregation became official. However, neither Tallahassee nor Florida as a whole has ever produced a racial demogogue on the model of those in most other areas of the deep South, either during the emergence of

the New South or during the second reconstruction of the 1950s and 1960s. The area has had its share of firm and dedicated racists, but its race relations have for the most part been milder and more paternal than those elsewhere.

One group of Harper's photographs documents these race relations. The well-dressed black nurse (PLATE 4) obviously worked for a white family of substance. A similar photo (PLATE 57) shows two black retainers with their white employer. He, typically, is seated. They stand behind. The formal style of their clothing, together with their position in the photograph, expresses their relationship: subservient, but not neglected or abused.

In the Winthrop-Merritt photograph (PLATE 96) parts of two families also join in a classic southern expression of the racial situation. The Merritt family (Mary, the nurse, Mathew, the coachman, and their son Eddie) poses with Francis and Guy Winthrop. A mature black family serves the small children of a prestigious and wealthy white family. The great social experiment apparently had failed. The New South carried substantial baggage from the old.

Yet there was another side to the story. Despite the declining position of blacks in Tallahassee, some retained a measure of the gains they had made during Reconstruction. One of those was probably the black man in PLATE 24; he is well-dressed but not ostentatiously so. His female counterpart is found in Harper's portrait of Nellie Franklin (PLATE 27). She is a lovely, well-dressed young lady, and her portrait matches those of Tallahassee's "elite"; only her black skin cast her life differently.

Harper's photograph of the two black children (PLATE 42) completes the impression that a number of blacks in Tallahassee retained a measure of their Reconstruction status. They had gained enough wealth and respect to stand, albeit increasingly conspicuous and isolated, as established citizens. And Harper photographed them in the same manner and in the same settings as he did their white counterparts.

One black man who enjoyed the confidence and respect of whites was William J. Gunn. Gunn was a physician, born in Leon County, who began his career as a driver for Dr. George W. Betton, a respected physician of early Tallahassee. He stood, constantly, as the whites' example of blacks' proper aspiration—although the white rhetoric suggests that they believed such status and accomplishment were far beyond the reach of most blacks.

Examples abound. A writer for a neighboring county newspaper commented that "a handsome new cottage was pointed out to us . . . last week as the residence of a Dr. Gunn," who, the writer was told, "enjoys a large practice chiefly among the best class of white people who have much confidence in his ability and honor." (Not surprisingly, for the time, accounts of Dr. Gunn always seem to point out his ownership and maintenance of real property.) Three years later there was a similar reference. "Dr. Gunn is just completing another new and attractive cottage . . . . His enterprise and business management is evidence of what a colored citizen can do in Florida, and many of his race could be benefitted by following his example."[38] What whites neglected to point out in such accounts was that following Gunn's example was largely dependent upon white permission. It was the white attitude, not black ability or energy, that controlled the situation.

PLATES 54 and 55 might stand as an emblem of this reality. The two photographs of the country store with assorted customers and interested parties in the front make the racial barriers

explicit. In one blacks are present; in the next they are not. Blacks, the photos seem to suggest, were considered separate and treated as such.

In all his photographs—both those inherently ambiguous and those which stand alone without interpretation—Alvan Harper gave us a thirty-year view of Tallahassee. His images are facts and artifacts, and yet we must still admit that we cannot know Harper or his turn-of-the-century world with the exactness we would hope for. In many cases, despite their unarguable mimesis of reality, the photographs are only clues upon which to build speculation. The street railway was a fact, for example, but its psychological importance for Tallahasseeans is an interpretation. Intent is obscured as well; many of the photographs, portraits included, are unidentified, and we can never know why they were taken. And then, so much is missing. We are frustrated by not knowing what subjects remained unrecorded or were lost.

Yet the photographs that do remain, even with their inherent mysteries, are a greater legacy than many men leave. Seventy years after his death, Harper's photographs give us the means to see his environment—buildings, homes, streets, countryside—and the people with whom he shared it, the wealthy and the poor, at work and at play. The photographs show above all the influence of the past as new generations of human beings attempted to deal with their future. Alvan Harper presented us with gifts that we do well to appreciate.

NOTES

1. Gloria Jahoda, *The Other Florida* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1967), p. 3.
2. Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860–1967* (Tallahassee: A Florida State University Book/University Presses of Florida, 1981), pp. 1–18.
3. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* 8 December 1863.
4. Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed* (New York: Knopf, 1970), p. 7.
5. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* 5 August, 2 September 1879.
6. Ibid., 29 April 1884; 11 February, 18 March 1886.
7. Ibid., 12 April, 27 November, 4 December 1888.
8. Ibid., 10 June 1886; 15 April 1891; 14 October 1893; 4 October 1901; 17 January 1902.
9. Ibid., 31 October 1891.
10. Dan G. Deibler, Historic Sites Specialist, Florida Department of State, provided expert and trenchant advice concerning this and other statements about architectural history in this essay.
11. See Plate 63 for other fenced trees.
12. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* 29 January, 7 May 1889; 9 April 1885.
13. Ibid., 23 April 1885.
14. Ibid., 18 December, 25 December 1888.
15. Ben A. Meginnis, "Alexander's Streetcar," manuscript reminiscence, March 1966, pp. 7, 9 (deposited at Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board); Sidney Lanier, *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History,* Bicentennial Floridiana, Facsimile Series (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1973), p. 107; *Weekly Floridian,* 14 March 1882.
16. Meginnis, "Alexander's Streetcar," p. 8.
17. *Weekly Floridian,* 20 October 1902; 20 February 1903; 1 May 1908.
18. On construction travail, see *Weekly Floridian,* 27 May, 4 September 1883; 8 January 1884; 10 February, 2 June 1887. On Confederate sympathies, see Joseph Cushman, *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821–1892* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), pp. 42–45, 56.

19. Meginnis, "Alexander's Streetcar," p. 10.
20. *Weekly Floridian,* 13 December 1901; 14 September 1906.
21. Ibid., 1 April, 16 April, 15 October, 26 November 1890; Meginnis, "Alexander's Streetcar," pp. 1, 13; Alan J. Downes, "Change and Stability in Social Life: Tallahassee, Florida, 1870–1900," (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1955), pp. 12–14.
22. Gaston, *New South Creed,* p. 167.
23. *Weekly Floridian,* 13 August 1890; 2 September, 21 October 1904; 6 August 1909.
24. *Weekly Floridian,* 2 April, 23 July 1892, quoted in Downes, "Change and Stability," p. 12.
25. Downes, "Change and Stability," pp. 12–14.
26. Leo Marx, in his *The Machine in the Garden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), analyzes the ironic contradiction between the "New South Creed and the Mythic Image of the Old South" from a very helpful, but different, perspective.
27. I am grateful to Clifton Paisley for providing this information on the *Walkatomica.*
28. Maurice Thompson, *A Tallahassee Girl* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1881), pp. 233–34; Downes, in "Change and Stability," uses the same quotation and notes that Tallahasseeans were quite defensive about Thompson's imputations. Downes, however, agrees with the substance of Thompson's opinions.
29. Downes, "Change and Stability," p. 16.
30. Ibid., p. 17. Downes's terms, obviously, describe a class structure more rigid than it actually was. But the terms are valuable as a reflection of attitudes current in Tallahassee at this time.
31. Another photograph of Francis Winthrop is reproduced in Plate 96.
32. *Weekly Floridian,* 9 April 1889.
33. As late as 1970 there were still cabins like this in the counties of central Florida.
34. *Weekly Floridian,* 26 April 1885; 27 October 1887; 22 March 1888.
35. Ibid., 5 March 1890; 11 June 1890 (my italics).
36. Ibid., 4 February, 21 January, 23 July 1890.
37. Ibid., 26 November 1892; 31 January, 23 May 1902; 24 July, 29 May, 4 December 1903.
38. *Monticello News,* reprinted in *Weekly Floridian,* 26 June 1903; *Weekly Floridian,* 6 April 1906.

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The Harper Collection was restored and catalogued during the late 1970s by the Florida Photographic Archives under the aegis of Florida State University. The Archives was housed in the university's Robert Manning Strozier Library from its establishment in 1952 until 1982, when it was moved to the State of Florida Department of State's Division of Archives, History, and Records Management.